

Welfare States in a Globalized Economy

ORGANIZATIONAL DETAILS

Course Instructor	Evelyne Hübscher
Day and Time	Tuesday 15:30 – 17.20 (bi-weekly basis)
Room	
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Welfare states and social security schemes are central to industrialized modern democracies. However, globalization and structural domestic changes increasingly challenge these achievements. Questions concerning equality and the level and type of redistribution dominate the public and political discourse in many states. The course aims at providing the analytical and conceptional tools which are useful to understand the development of different welfare state systems, and compare different types of welfare state systems and social policies. In addition, you should familiarize yourself with some of the key contributions in this field and understand the evolution and development of research in comparative welfare states. The course is divided into two main parts: The first part gives an overview of the different types of welfare states and their development over time. The characteristic features of the different welfare state types will be discussed and potential weaknesses and sources of inequality of welfare state systems will be identified. In the second part of the course, you will learn about the challenges and problems traditional social security schemes and welfare states are facing and how different polities reorganize and reform their social security schemes. In addition to the focus on factors constraining social policy-making at the macro-level, we will also discuss the (changing) demands for social policy at the micro-level. The readings for this course mostly consist of classics of the comparative welfare state literature (first part) and of recent articles published in peer-reviewed journals (second part).

COURSE OBJECTIVES & LEARNING OUTCOMES

The main objective of the course is to gain insight into the broad field of comparative welfare state research and to sensitize participants how and under what circumstances social policies contribute to growing inequalities among different groups in modern societies. After taking this seminar, you will (1) be able to identify and classify different welfare state systems, (2) you will know about the current debates in the literature, (3) you will be able to critically read scholarly articles and identify their core arguments and weaknesses, and (4) you will be able to analyze and compare social policy reforms across countries and relate the changes to the existing theories in the field.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

The course will be held in a seminar format and takes place on a biweekly basis. The exact dates will be determined at the beginning of the fall term. The plan is to have the

sessions more or less evenly spread over the fall and winter term. The requirements are the following: 1) Regular attendance of the seminar and active participation is required. No more than one absence without prior notification via email are granted. In order to structure our debate and discussion of the scholarly articles, you are required to submit two (2) short questions or observations related to the readings prior to the session. 2) You will have to deliver two presentations, one short presentation following the form of an ‘oral reaction paper’ (no longer than 20 minutes) and a second, more comprehensive presentation for which you need to research additional literature and present your own angle on chosen topic (no longer than 50 minutes including discussion). The exact format of the presentation will be discussed during the first session. 3) You are expected to write one research paper (5.000 words max, excluding bibliography). You are free to choose a topic, which can also be related to your extensive presentation. Please discuss the question that you would like to research with me beforehand. A style sheet clarifying the formal requirements will be available online, and information on the precise substantive requirements will be discussed in class. The deadline for submitting the essay will be announced at a later stage. The essay needs to be uploaded on the e-learning platform before midnight on the respective date.

The final grade consists of the following components:

- Submission of questions related to the reading and active participation in weekly discussions: 20%
- Presentations: 30%
- Research paper: 50%

GENERAL OVERVIEW

	<i>Topic</i>		<i>Topic</i>
<i>Session 1</i>	Introduction	<i>Session 2</i>	Three Worlds of Welfare
<i>Session 3</i>	Critique of Dominant Welfare State Typologies	<i>Session 4</i>	Sources of WFS Development I
<i>Session 5</i>	Sources of WFS Development II	<i>Session 6</i>	Varieties of Capitalism (Employers and WFS)
<i>Session 7</i>	Sources of Retrenchment and Pressure: Globalization & Structural Changes	<i>Session 8</i>	New Politics and Resiliency in Times of Austerity
<i>Session 9</i>	Inequality in WFS	<i>Session 10</i>	Redistribution in WFS
<i>Session 11</i>	Who Supports the Welfare State?	<i>Session 12</i>	Who Deserves Social Policies?

COURSE OUTLINE

The readings for this seminar can be accessed and downloaded through the course website. A comprehensive bibliography of the required and recommended readings can be found after the description of the course outline.

Session	Overarching Topic and Questions	Readings
<i>Session 1</i>	Introduction: What is the welfare state? General introduction and detailed overview of the seminar and its requirements. Organization of presentations and in-class discussions.	
<i>Session 2</i>	Three Worlds of Welfare: Welfare states in different countries consist of different characteristics. Knowing the differences between existing welfare state systems is a tool that will help to structure the future discussions and to compare how and whether a particular welfare state type more easily adjusts to a changing environment than the other. The session centers around Esping-Andersen's influential typology of welfare states.	<i>Required Readings:</i> - Esping-Andersen (1990), Chapter 1, 2 and 3 <i>Recommended Readings:</i> - Emmenegger et al. (2015)
<i>Session 3</i>	Critique of Dominant Welfare State Typologies Esping-Andersen's hugely influential typology of welfare state systems provoked substantial scholarly critique from various angles. In this session we are assessing some of the main points and also discuss whether and how typologies in general should be used in academic research and beyond.	<i>Required Readings:</i> - Orloff (1993) <i>Recommended Readings:</i> - Arts and Gelissen (2002) - Bonoli (1997) - Manow (2009) - Ferrera (1996) - Manow (2015)
<i>Session 4</i>	Sources of Welfare State Development: Political Power: Different factors led to the establishment and the development of diverging welfare state systems. The literature mainly distinguishes between two main explanatory factors: Class struggle and conflict lines (political power resources) and the enabling or hindering factors of institutions. This first session examines how the strength of leftist power has influenced the development of social policies.	<i>Required Readings:</i> - Korpi (1989) - Bradley et al. (2003) <i>Recommended Readings:</i> - Esping-Andersen (1990), Chapter 5 - Korpi (1983) - Korpi and Palme (2003) - Kwon and Pontusson (2010) - Huber and Stephens (2001)

Session	Overarching Topic and Questions	Readings
<i>Session 5</i>	<p>Sources of Welfare State Development: Institutions: Critiques of the power resource approach argue that other factors than the strength of a political movement/political party can have an important impact on social security schemes. Political institutions and the political context therefore are in the center of this approach.</p>	<p><i>Required Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Steinmo (1989) <p><i>Recommended Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Iversen and Soskice (2015) - Swank (2001) - Huber, Ragin and Stephens (1993) - Skocpol and Ikenberry (1983) - Hicks and Swank (1992)
<i>Session 6</i>	<p>Employers and Welfare States: Varieties of Capitalism: A third source of welfare state development or the implementation of various social policies, are employers. The ‘Varieties of Capitalism (VoC)’ approach examines why capital/employers also had an interest in welfare state policies and how different types of institutions (economic and social) complement each other.</p>	<p><i>Required Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hall and Soskice (2001) <p><i>Recommended Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mares (1997) - Hall and Gingerich (2009) - Korpi (2006) - Hall and Thelen (2009) - Mares (2003) - Estevez-Abe, Iversen and Soskice (2001) - Estevez-Abe (2006)
<i>Session 7</i>	<p>Sources of Retrenchment and Pressure: Globalization & Structural Changes: The welfare state literature distinguishes between ‘a golden age’ for welfare state and ‘times of austerity and constraints’. The ‘golden age’ for welfare states ended in the 1980s when international trade and financial flows increased and governments (as part of the literature claims) lost its room to maneuver. In this session we examine the different causal mechanisms that negatively affect existing social security schemes.</p>	<p><i>Required Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Schwartz (2001) <p><i>Recommended Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Garrett (1998) - Burgoon (2001) - Swank (2005) - Iversen and Wren (1998) - Genschel (2004)
<i>Session 8</i>	<p>New Politics and Resiliency in Times of Austerity Are welfare states under serious threat and social security systems across countries converging to equally low standards? How important is politics in shaping current reforms of social policies? While the underlying mechanisms of change are still up to debate, reality shows that welfare states are remarkably resilient. In this session we will discuss the resiliency of existing welfare states and evaluate whether certain welfare state families are more under pressure to cut and retrench than others.</p>	<p><i>Required Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pierson (1998) - Pierson (2001) <p><i>Recommended Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pierson (1996) - Green-Pedersen and Haverland (2002) - Ross (2000) - Starke (2006)

Session	Overarching Topic and Questions	Readings
<i>Session 9</i>	<p>Inequality in Welfare States</p> <p>Recent challenges to welfare state institutions did not affect all types of welfare state in a similar way. Some systems reinforce already existing inequalities whereas other welfare state types are able to maintain a relatively egalitarian system. In this session we will focus on factors that drive these unequal developments.</p>	<p><i>Required Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pontusson and Rueda (2010) <p><i>Recommended Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clayton and Pontusson (1998) - Brady and Leicht (2008) - Mahler (2004) - Finseraas (2010)
<i>Session 10</i>	<p>Redistribution in Welfare States:</p> <p>The way how welfare state institutions redistribute across different societal groups differs greatly across countries. In this session we will familiarize ourselves with theories which contribute to explain these cross-country differences. The theories are based on class voting and electoral institutions.</p>	<p><i>Required Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Iversen and Soskice (2006) - Korpi and Palme (1998) <p><i>Recommended Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kenworthy and Pontusson (2005) - Bradley et al. (2003) - Iversen and Soskice (2009)
<i>Session 11</i>	<p>Who Supports the Welfare State Today?:</p> <p>Who supports the welfare state? How popular are social security schemes among different groups in society? These questions will be at the center of this session.</p>	<p><i>Required Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gingrich and Häusermann (2015) - Rehm (2009) <p><i>Recommended Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emmenegger and Klemmensen (2013) - Brooks and Manza (2006) - Blekesaune and Quadagno (2003) - Svallfors (2004)
<i>Session 12</i>	<p>Who 'Deserves' Social Policies?:</p> <p>In times of austerity a heated discourse about who deserves support through social policies can be observed in many countries. In this last session we will assess some of the determinants which influence this 'deservingness' debate.</p>	<p><i>Required Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - van Oorschot (2006) <p><i>Recommended Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Larsen (2008) - Van Der Waal, De Koster and van Oorschot (2013) - Reeskens and van Oorschot (2012) -

Alphabetical List of Required and Recommended Readings

- Arts, Wil and John Gelissen. 2002. "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism or More? A State-of-the-Art Report." *Journal of European Social Policy* 12(2):137–158.
- Blekesaune, Morten and Jill Quadagno. 2003. "Public Attitudes toward Welfare State Policies: A Comparative Analysis of 24 Nations." *European Sociological Review* 19(5):415–427.
- Bonoli, Giuliano. 1997. "Classifying Welfare States: A Two-dimensional Approach." *Journal of Social Policy* 26(3):351–372.
- Bradley, David, Evelyne Huber, Stephanie Moller, François Nielsen and John D. Stephens. 2003. "Distribution and Redistribution in Postindustrial Democracies." *World Politics* 55(2):193–228.
- Brady, David and Kevin T. Leicht. 2008. "Party to Inequality: Right Party Power and Income Inequality in Affluent Western Democracies." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 26(1):77–106.
- Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. 2006. "Why Do Welfare States Persist?" *Journal of Politics* 68(4):816–827.
- Burgoon, Brian. 2001. "Globalization and Welfare Compensation: Disentangling the Ties That Bind." *International Organization* 55(3):509–551.
- Clayton, Richard and Jonas Pontusson. 1998. "Welfare-State Retrenchment Revisited: Entitlement Cuts, Public Sector Restructuring, and Inegalitarian Trends in Advanced Capitalist Societies." *World Politics* 51(1):67–98.
- Emmenegger, Patrick, Jon Kvist, Paul Marx and Klaus Petersen. 2015. "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism: The Making of A Classic." *Journal of European Social Policy* 25(1):3–13.
- Emmenegger, Patrick and Robert Klemmensen. 2013. "What Motivates You? The Relationship between Preferences for Redistribution and Attitudes toward Migration." *Comparative Politics* 45(2):227–246.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Estevez-Abe, Margarita. 2006. "Gendering the Varieties of Capitalism: A Study of Occupational Segregation by Sex in Advanced Industrial Societies." *World Politics* 59(1):142–175.
- Estevez-Abe, Maria, Torben Iversen and David Soskice. 2001. Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State. In *Varieties of Capitalism - The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, ed. Peter A. Hall and David Soskice. Oxford University Press chapter 162-182.
- Ferrera, Maurizio. 1996. "The 'Southern' Model of Welfare in Social Europe." *Journal of European Social Policy* 6(1):17–37.
- Finseraas, Henning. 2010. "What if Robin Hood is a Social Conservative? How the Political Response to Increasing Inequality Depends of Party Polarization." *Socio-Economic Review* 8(2):283–306.
- Garrett, Geoffrey. 1998. "Global Markets and National Politics: Collision Course or Virtuous Circle?" *International Organization* 52(4):787–824.
- Genschel, Philipp. 2004. "Globalization and the Welfare State: A Retrospective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(4):613–636.
- Gingrich, Jane and Silja Häusermann. 2015. "The Decline of the Working-Class Vote, the Reconfiguration of the Welfare Support Coalition and Consequences for the Welfare State." *Journal of European Social Policy* 25(1):50–75.
- Green-Pedersen, Christoffer and Markus Haverland. 2002. "The New Politics and Scholarship of the Welfare State." *Journal of European Social Policy* 12(1):43–51.

- Hall, Peter A. and Daniel W. Gingerich. 2009. "Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Complementaries in the Political Economy." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(3):449–482.
- Hall, Peter A. and David Soskice. 2001. An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism. In *Varieties of Capitalism - The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, ed. Peter A. Hall and David Soskice. Oxford University Press pp. 1–70.
- Hall, Peter A. and Kathleen Thelen. 2009. "Institutional Change in Varieties of Capitalism." *Socio-Economic Review* 7(1):7–34.
- Hicks, Alexander M. and Duane H. Swank. 1992. "Politics, Institutions, and Welfare State Spending in Industrialized Democracies, 1960-82." *American Political Science Review* 86(3):658–674.
- Huber, Evelyne, Charles C. Ragin and John D. Stephens. 1993. "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure, and the Welfare State." *American Journal of Sociology* 99(3):711–749.
- Huber, Evelyne and John D. Stephens. 2001. *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State - Parties and Policies in Global Markets*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
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- Kwon, Hyeok Yong and Jonas Pontusson. 2010. "Globalization, Labour Power and Partisan Politics Revisited." *Socio-Economic Review* 8(2):251–281.
- Larsen, Christian Albrekt. 2008. "The Institutional Logic of Welfare State Attitudes: How Welfare Regimes Influence Public Support." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(2):145–168.
- Mahler, Vincent A. 2004. "Economic Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Income Inequality in the Developed Countries – A Cross-National Study." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(9):1025–1053.
- Manow, Philip. 2009. "Electoral Rules, Class Coalitions and Welfare State Regimes, or How to Explain Esping-Andersen with Stein Rokkan." *Socio-Economic Review* 7(1):101–121.
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